

# СТУДЕНТ

STUDENT

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## Student

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18th SUSK Congress 1977  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Wednesday August 24th-Sunday August 28th  
PANELS, DISCUSSIONS, WORKSHOPS,  
ELECTION OF NEW EXECUTIVE

Topics: Ukrainian Student movement in Context,  
The Tapestry that is our heritage, Sociology of  
Ukrainians in Canada, Multiculturalism and  
Quebec, Discussion with Leonid Plyushch and  
much more.

SEE YOU THERE



# DEMO in OTTAWA

SUSK DEMO IN OTTAWA-May 14, 1977

About 150 people carried placards and chanted slogans in front of the Soviet Embassy in the Capital at a demonstration organised by the National Executive of SUSK and Amnesty International.

The participants, mostly from Toronto and Montreal demonstrated with the objective to bring attention to the Soviet Government in regards to the 'Basket Three' section of the Helsinki Treaty which essentially recognises that the contravention of basic human rights is an affront to peaceful coexistence amongst states. The past year has brought a wave of arrests in Ukraine, the Soviet Union and most of Eastern Europe in an attempt to silence the growing, more open dissident groups concerned with the issue of human rights and violations of the Helsinki accords.

Notable amongst the latest arrests is Mykola Rudenko, 57, a writer and one of the organisers of the 'Ukrainian Monitoring Group of the Helsinki Treaty.' The aim of this Kiev based group is to expose violations of human and national rights by the Soviet state. Similar groups exist in Moscow and other cities of the Soviet Union. Others arrested include Oleksa Tykhy, from Donetsk, psychiatrist Alexander Ginsburg and Russian writer Yuri Orlov.

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by M. Ilyniak

The Helsinki Treaty, signed in February 1975 by 34 participating countries is in effect an acknowledgement by the West of the control by the USSR over its satellite states. However, the agreements also contained broad humanitarian pronouncements concerning respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all. Moscow did not find anything unusual about these demands because in fact all of these rights are guaranteed in the Soviet constitution. It is the various libertarians in the Soviet Union who are taking these provisions very seriously. The inherent contradictions between the freedoms promulgated in the Helsinki documents land the Soviet reality are necessarily a rallying cause for those from all areas of the dissident movement to work together. Before his arrest, Yuri Orlov told a Time correspondent that "for the first time we have united in the Helsinki monitoring committees all kinds of dissidents and we have achieved some degree of coordination."

Keynote speakers at the demonstration included Marco Carynnyk, Oles Cheren and SUSK president Marijka Hurko. All of the speakers appealed to public opinion to influence the Canadian delegation to bring up this serious matter at the June 15th Helsinki review conference at Belgrade.



## 15 POLITICAL

## PROFILES OF 15 POLITICAL PRISONERS

In his appeal to President Carter, Andrei D. Sakharov, the Soviet human rights advocate, mentions the names of 15 political prisoners, urging that the President persevere in efforts to secure their release.

Below, we provide brief biographies of the 15 prisoners mentioned by Sakharov. The prisoners come from a broad range of occupations. We find among them a physician, an art curator, a biologist, workers, historians, and students. The list is also diverse in its national composition, including, as it does Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, and a Crimean Tatar.

In a way, Sakharov's list is typical of the diversity of Soviet oppositionists and representative of the sociological and ethnic composition of Soviet labor camps and prisons.

Interestingly, Sakharov chooses to omit political dissenters incarcerated in psychiatric prison hospitals, limiting himself solely to those individuals convicted and sentenced by Soviet courts.

**SERGEI KOVALEV.** Russian biologist and representative of the Soviet Branch of Amnesty International, arrested in 1974 and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile. Kovalev was particularly outspoken in his support of the *samizdat* journal, the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and was arrested in the KGB crackdown against the supporters of this journal.

**IVAN SVITLYCHNY.** Ukrainian literary critic and poet, arrested in January of 1972 and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and 5 years internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Svitlychny continues his human rights' activities in the Perm prison camp, where he has participated in numerous protests and hunger strikes with other political prisoners. In 1976 he joined with a group of other Ukrainian political prisoners in renouncing their Soviet citizenships and asking to leave the USSR for the West.

**VASYL ROMANYUK.** Ukrainian Orthodox priest arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and five years' exile for having protested the imprisonment of Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz. In August of 1975 Romanyuk undertook a hunger strike demanding a review of his case and the right to use a Bible. Recently Father Romanyuk addressed a letter to the "Congress, Leadership, and Citizens of the United States" in which he appealed for U.S. citizenship.

**MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV.** Crimean Tatar activist, and outspoken critic of Soviet policies toward his national group, a Moslem, Turkic nationality forcibly deported in 1944 from the Crimea to Central Asia by Stalin. Despite Dzhemilev's having embarked on a hunger-strike following his arrest, he was sentenced in April of 1976 to two and a half years' imprisonment. He is in poor health as a result of the harsh conditions of imprisonment and his prolonged hunger strike.

**SEMYON GLUZMAN.** Jewish psychiatrist from Kiev born in 1946. He was arrested in 1972 and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for having written a dissident psychiatric report on Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, then incarcerated in psychiatric prison hospital. Gluzman was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile. While serving his sentence in 1974 in a labor camp in the Ural mountains, Gluzman co-authored the *Dissident's Guide to Psychiatry* with Vladimir Bukovsky, then also a political prisoner.

**PETRO RUBAN.** Details about the case of Petro Ruban are fragmentary. Little is known about the political prisoner. In a separate appeal to President Carter, dated January, 1977, Andrei Sakharov notes that Ruban was sentenced to 8 years in a forced labor camp and to an additional 5 years of internal exile for having made a wooden copy of the Statue of Liberty in honor of the American Bicentennial.

**YURI FYODOROV.** Fyodorov, a former member of the "Union of Communists", an unofficial dissident Marxist organization was first sentenced in 1969 to six years' imprisonment on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation". In prison he took part in protest actions by political prisoners who were objecting to incarceration in cells with war criminals. Fyodorov was recently arrested a second time.

**HEORHIY VINS.** Ukrainian Baptist minister arrested in 1974 and charged with "infringement of the rights of



# PRISONERS

## Committees Defending Political Prisoners in the USSR

citizens under the appearance of performing religious ceremonies" and with slandering the Soviet state. Pastor Vins was sentenced to 5 years in prison camps and 5 years in exile with confiscation of his personal property. The Baptist Church is not officially recognized by Soviet authorities.

**MIKHAIL SHTERN.** Jewish endocrinologist arrested in May of 1974 after two of his sons had applied to emigrate to Israel. In December, 1974 Dr. Shtern was sentenced to 8 years' at hard labor on charges of "corruption" and "bribery".

**VALENTYN MOROZ.** Ukrainian historian and essayist, arrested in 1970 and sentenced to 9 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Moroz was sentenced for having written four essays critical of Soviet violations of human rights and in defense of the democratic right of nationalities to retain their native language and culture. In 1974, Moroz staged a hunger strike that lasted 145 days and during which he lost 45 pounds and suffered internal injuries from forced feedings by prison officials. An attempt to commit Moroz to psychiatric incarceration in May, 1976 was thwarted as a result of the reaction of Western public opinion.

**OLEKSANDER SERHIYENKO.** Ukrainian museum worker arrested in January of 1972 and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Serhiyenko has been physically abused and subjected to a starvation diet in Vladimir Prison for demanding that authorities grant him the status of a political status of a political prisoner. He is also reported to be suffering from tuberculosis.

**MIKHAIL MAKARENKO.** Art historian and former director of an art museum of the Siberian section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR arrested in 1969 and sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" after having co-authored a letter to an international congress of communist Parties from "The Party of Non-Party Workers". Makarenko has suffered from an open form of tuberculosis.

**YEVHEN PRONYUK.** Ukrainian philosophy instructor, arrested in 1973 and tried in November of that year on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Pronyuk, a Marxist by conviction, was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile for having co-authored an "Open Letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" together with political prisoner Vasyil Lisov. In the letter Pronyuk and Lisov protested against a massive wave of KGB arrests of dissidents in Ukraine during January of 1972. Following Pronyuk's arrest, his wife was dismissed from her job and is currently out of work.

**MARIA SEMYONOVA.** Russian prisoner of conscience imprisoned for her religious beliefs. She is currently serving a third prison sentence for belonging to the True Orthodox Church. Semyonova was born in 1925 and is currently incarcerated in a forced labor penal institution for women political prisoners.

**VASYL FEDORENKO.** Ukrainian locksmith sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda" and "treason", after attempting to cross the USSR border with Czechoslovakia. During his trial Fedorenko declared his opposition to Soviet colonial policies and spoke in favor of Ukraine's independence. On December 10, 1975, Fedorenko began a hunger strike of unspecified duration against Soviet violations of the Declaration of Human Rights and against the anti-Ukrainian policies of the Soviet government. Fedorenko is still on his hunger strike. In January of 1977, it was learned from dissident circles in Moscow that Fedorenko attempted to take his life by self-immolation. Prison guards "saved" his life by dousing him with scalding hot water.

**MIHAILO MIHAJLOV.** A Christian socialist and literary critic, Mihajlov has consistently been incarcerated in Yugoslav jails on political charges. In October of 1974 Mihajlov was arrested by Yugoslav authorities and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 4 years' loss of citizens' rights. This was the fifth prison sentence for the 42 year old writer of Russian origin.

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CANADA

# NEWS FROM UKRAINE

Information About the Current Struggle For National and Human Rights

## Kiev Group Formed To Implement Helsinki Accords

Over the last year, as the Ukrainian dissident movement continues to grow, the Kremlin has intensified its persecution of nationalist and human rights activists. Scholars, literary figures, and cultural workers have been arrested; former political prisoners harassed; and the conditions in the camps made even worse.

The latest wave of arrests has centered around the Helsinki Group in Kiev. The Ukrainian Committee to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was formed in Kiev on November 9, 1976, as a result of Ukraine not being represented at the Helsinki Conference. The group was made up of ten well-known Ukrainian activists, including such former political prisoners as Ivan Kandyba, Levko Lukyanenko, Petro Hryhorenko and Nina Strokata. The head of the Committee, since arrested (see below) was Mykola Rudenko, 56-year-old poet and former secretary of the Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union.

The Committee released two documents which outlined its position and course of action: a Declaration (see box) demanding that the conditions outlined in the Helsinki Agreement be enforced in Ukraine and that Ukraine should participate in all international agreements, and Memorandum No. 1 which consists of 18 single-spaced typewritten pages detailing violations of human rights in Ukraine.

The Soviet government's reaction to the formation of the Committee was the arrest of Rudenko and another member of the Committee, Olesky Tykhy, on February 5, 1977. Two other members, Olesky Matushevych and Myroslav Marynovych, were arrested on April 23, 1977. Oles Berdnyk has been acting as head of the Committee. The remaining members have been intimidated by the KGB and are in danger of being arrested. In other developments connected with the Committee:

- Immediately after the formation of the Kiev Committee, Mykola Rudenko's home near Kiev was pelted with bricks as a result of which Oksana Meshko, one of the members of the Committee and mother of Oleksander Serhiyenko, well-known Ukrainian political prisoner, was wounded. A month later Rudenko's home was searched by the KGB and a number of documents were confiscated. To protest KGB harassment Rudenko staged a hunger strike in January along with his wife and two other members of the Committee.

- Three days after the formation of the Kiev Committee, a similar group in Moscow sent a letter abroad describing the formation of the Kiev group as "an act of great courage" in view of the existing conditions in Ukraine. The letter, signed by six members of the Moscow Committee, noted that those in Ukraine who attempt to gather and forward to the public information about violations of human rights are confronted with "unusually difficult obstacles." The letter went on to state that "Regardless of the fact that formally Ukraine is a full-fledged member of the United Nations, it was not invited to talks in Helsinki; correspondents of the Western press are not stationed in its capital; nor are there any diplomatic representatives who could receive information. Attempts to send information about violations of the Final Act, which speaks of human rights, by mail yield no results..."

- In a letter to KGB chiefs in Kiev and Moscow, Oles Berdnyk denounced the arrest of Mykola Rudenko as a "historic crime." Calling Rudenko a philosopher and poet, Berdnyk said that his ideas could "create a new era of scholarship and knowledge."

We Ukrainians live in Europe which, in the first half of the twentieth century, has twice been ravaged by terrible wars. These were covered the Ukrainian land with blood as they did the lands of other European countries. That is why we view as illegal the fact that Ukraine, a full member of the UN, was not represented by its own delegation at the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

Nevertheless, we realize that according to the treaty of December 27, 1922, concerning the formation of the Soviet Union, all international agreements signed by the government of the USSR also encompass Ukraine. It follows that the Declaration of Human Rights as well as the Declaration of Principles on which the signatory nations of the Helsinki Conference are to base their relations are, in effect, also valid in Ukraine.

Experience has shown that the implementation of the Helsinki Accords (especially the humanitarian sections) cannot be guaranteed without the participation of the public of the signatory nations. For this reason, on November 9, 1976, we formed the Ukrainian Committee to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. Since the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation are based wholly on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Ukrainian Committee has set for itself the following objectives:

- 1) To acquaint the Ukrainian public with the Declaration of Human Rights; to strive to make this international document the basis of relations between the individual and the state,

- 2) Convinced that peace among nations cannot be guaranteed without free contact between peoples and the free exchange of information and ideas, to actively promote the implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation,

- 3) To strive to have Ukraine, a sovereign European nation and member of the UN, represented by its own delegation at all international conferences dealing with the implementation of the Helsinki Accords,

- 4) In order to promote the free flow of information and ideas, to strive for the accreditation in Ukraine of foreign press correspondents, for the formation of independent news agencies, and the like.

The Committee sees as its prime objective the informing of the signatory nations and the world public about violations in Ukraine of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the humanitarian articles accepted by the Helsinki Conference.

Berdnyk accused the KGB heads of directing the might of the KGB organization against people "who only have the word as their defense." "On one side," he writes, "there is a strong armada, armed to the teeth with electronics, secret agents, automobiles, concentration camps, jails, and so on, and on the other side there are the courageous persons who stand up against the tide of injustice." Noting the recent arrests of members of the Moscow and Kiev Helsinki Committees, Berdnyk asks, "Who will be next?"



# UKRAINE

Human Rights

## Implementation of the Helsinki Accords

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## RUDENKO TORTURED, AWAITS TRIAL

After being arrested in February, presumably for his involvement in the Kiev Committee to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, Mykola Rudenko, head of the Committee, was subjected to torture by the KGB in an effort to force the 56-year-old poet to recant his views and disavow his connections with the Kiev group. Rudenko, who was once a major in the Red Army, suffers from a war wound in his back and must take periodic rests to ease the pressure on his back. According to reports from Ukraine, the KGB, during its interrogations of Rudenko, denied him rest periods, thus causing him excruciating pain. The reports stated that Rudenko's life was imperiled by the torture.

The latest information about Rudenko to reach the West reveals that Rudenko has been transferred from the Kiev prison to a penal facility in Donetsk in Eastern Ukraine, the region where Rudenko was born. Here he will await trial for allegedly possessing \$36 in American currency. The charges are criminal and not political, a maneuver by the authorities designed to disassociate Rudenko from any human rights consideration under the Helsinki Accords. It is not known whether the torture used against him has been stopped. In April a number of U.S. Senators, led by Henry Jackson and Richard Schweiker, protested the arrest of Rudenko and Oleksy Tykhy to Leonid Brezhnev, noting that such arrests are "a dismaying indication of the lack of importance the Soviet Government apparently attaches to implementing the Helsinki Agreement."

Mykhailo Rudenko was born in 1920 in a village in the Voroshilovhrad region in the Donetsk Basin. After completing his studies in 1939, he became a member of the Communist Party and later joined the Red Army, eventually taking part in the defense of Leningrad in World War II. Afterwards he served as the editor of a Kiev literary journal. He became the secretary of the Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union in the 50's. Sometimes after 1960 Rudenko became interested in human rights and in the dissident movement in Ukraine. He became a member of the Moscow based Amnesty International group and, in July, 1975, wrote a letter to Leonid Brezhnev in which he criticized the violation of human rights in the USSR. He was expelled from the Writers' Union and later confined for observation to a psychiatric asylum. During his two-month confinement Rudenko wrote a collection of poems titled "History of an Illness." In one of the poems he states his conviction that he has embarked on a proper course of action by declaring, "I will speak my mind." The medical staff, unable to find anything wrong with Rudenko, declared him mentally healthy. All during this time the KGB interrogated Rudenko's wife and friends in the hope of obtaining damaging statements against him, but this ploy proved unsuccessful.

One of the KGB's tactics against Rudenko was to try to force one of his friends, Mykhailo Kovtunencko, a Kiev doctor, to spy on Rudenko. Kovtunencko refused and was subsequently arrested by the KGB on trumped up charges. Rudenko afterwards wrote a letter of protest against the act. In the letter Rudenko stated that Kovtunencko had informed him of the KGB action and that Kovtunencko had expressed fears that he might be arrested. In one of his notes to Rudenko he had written the following: "I, Mykhailo Kovtunencko, have been asked to become a KGB co-worker to spy on M. Rudenko, because he is against the authorities and because he is a member of the Sakharov group. I fully share Rudenko's views and will defend them as much as possible. I believe that we have no rights, not even the most elementary. I believe in Ukraine."

# McMASTER CONFERENCE ON POLAND AND UKRAINE: PAST AND PRESENT OCTOBER 20-22, 1977

Organized by:

The Interdepartmental Committee On Communist and East European Affairs, McMaster  
The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta

Sponsored by:

The Canada Council

McMaster University

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, The University of Alberta

**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1977**

**9:00 - 9:45 a.m. REGISTRATION**

Coffee

Lobby of Council Room, Gilmour Hall

**9:45 - 10:00 a.m. Opening Remarks**

Dr. Arthur N. Bourns

President, McMaster University

Dr. Manoly R. Lupul

Director, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

**10:00 - 12:30 p.m. Morning Session: Council Room**  
Theme: Historical Legacy

**Speakers:** Professor Andrzej Kaminski, Columbia University  
Was the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth a Stepmother for Ruthenians and Cossacks  
Professor Alexander Gella, SUNY, Buffalo  
Social Basis of National Conflict: The Development of Ukrainian Intelligentsia in Poland

Professor Ivan L. Rudnytsky, Alberta

Polish-Ukrainian Relations: The Burden of History

**Chairman:** Professor Peter Brock, University of Toronto

**12:30 - 1:45 p.m. LUNCH**  
Faculty Club, McMaster University

**2:00 - 5:00 p.m. Afternoon Session: Council Room**  
Theme: Cultural Relations

**Speakers:** Professor George J. Grabowicz, Harvard  
The History of Polish-Ukrainian Literary Relations:  
A Literary and Cultural Perspective

Professor Wasyl Markus, Loyola

Religious Situation of Ukrainians in Poland and of the Poles in Ukraine

Mr. Josef Lobodowski, Madrid

Polish View of Polish-Ukrainian Literary Influences

Professor Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, Carleton

Commentator

**Chairman:** Professor George S. N. Luckyj, University of Toronto

**5:00 - 7:45 p.m. SOCIAL HOUR**  
Great Hall Faculty Club, McMaster University  
Hosted by  
Ukrainian-Canadian Professional and Business Association of Hamilton

**7:45 p.m. CONFERENCE DINNER**  
Faculty Club Dining Room



- 
- 9:30 - 10:00 a.m.** **FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1977**  
**COFFEE**
- 10:00 - 12:30 p.m.** Morning Session: Council Room  
Theme: Economic Ties and Communications
- Speakers:** Professor Volodymyr N. Bandera, Temple  
Economic Relations and Integration Between Ukraine and Poland, 1956-1976
- Professor Georges Mond, Paris  
Polish Ukrainian Relations After 1945: Between Culture and Politics
- Professor Roman Szporluk, Michigan  
The Press of Poland and Ukraine: Its Role in Polish-Ukrainian Relations
- Professor Yaroslav Bilinsky, Delaware  
Commentator
- Chairman:** Professor Leon Smolinski, Boston College
- 12:30 - 1:45 p.m.** **LUNCH**
- 2:00 - 5:30 p.m.** Afternoon Session: Council Room  
Theme: Political Problems
- Speakers:** Professor Adam Bromke, McMaster  
Ukraine and Poland in the New Emerging Europe
- Professor Jaroslaw Pelenski, Iowa  
Ukraine and Poland from the Imperial Russian and Soviet Russian Perspectives
- Professor Bohdan Osadczyk, Berlin  
Polish-Ukrainian Relation in the Interwar-Period
- Professor Borys Lewytskyj, Ukrainian Free University  
Political and Cultural Ties Between Soviet Ukraine and People's Poland in the Seventies
- Chairman:** Professor Grey Hodnett, York
- 5:30 - 6:30 p.m.** **CASH BAR**  
Faculty Club, McMaster University
- 6:00 - 8:00 p.m.** **DINNER**
- 8:00 p.m.** Evening Session: Council Room  
Theme: Historiography
- Speakers:** Dr. Roman Solchanyk, Rutgers  
The Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Ukraine in Recent Polish Historiography
- Dr. John Basarab, Ukrainian Free University and Maryland in Europe  
Post War Research in Poland on Polish-Ukrainian Relations, 1945-1975
- Professor Josef Lewandowski, Uppsala  
The World War II and the Polish-Ukrainian Conflict
- Mr. Eugene Shtendera, National Library of Canada  
The Search for Understanding: Polish-Ukrainian Underground, 1945-1947
- Chairman:** Professor Jerzy Wojciechowski, Ottawa
- 



For pre-registration write to:

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Conference Chairman  
Department of Political Science

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Registration fee for the Conference is \$15.

# Review

JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN GRADUATE STUDIES

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## JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN GRADUATE STUDIES

L. Bereshko-Hunter: P. Kulish's Chorna Rada

O. Ihnytskyi: B. I. Antonych's poetry

S. Velychenko: Origins of the 1648 Ukrainian Revolution

O. T. Martynowych: Early Ukrainian-Canadian socialists

O. Honchar: a samvydav speech

O. Honchar: The Cathedral — a translation

M. Carynyk: V. Stus

V. Stus: poetry

Reviews

1  
FALL 1976

Of all the Ukrainian based publications in Canada the Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies emerges as a new and refreshing concept. Its aim is to provide a forum for the widest possible expression of opinion dealing with Ukrainian and related topics. Significantly, the contributors will not be professors, but primarily graduate students.

The editorial note in the first issue states that it is a journal with a difference. Its aim is scholarly but it will be balanced by materials for the general reader. On one hand the general reader will find interesting and informative articles dealing with topics ranging for example from "The Origins of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1648", translation Oles Honchar's "The Cathedral" to the Ukrainian Socialist

by B.K.

Movement in Canada; 1900-1918. On the other hand, the journal offers the opportunity for specialists in these fields to comment or ADD TO THE INFORMATION CREATING A SCHOLARLY EXCHANGE OF FACT AND OPINION.

The journal promises in future issues to print poetry, prose, translations, reviews, discussions, interviews and letters to the editor.

My impressions of the journal are at this point entirely positive. A new forum for University students has been created but its ultimate success will depend not on its editors but on its contributors, Ukrainian students.

Copies of the Journal can be obtained at the following address:

The Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, c.o.  
Dept. of Slavic Languages, 21 Sussex Ave. Uni-  
versity of Toronto, Toronto, Ont. M5S 1A1

### JUST PUBLISHED

UKRAINIAN HERALD, ISSUE SIX: DISSENT IN UKRAINE

Founded in 1970, the Ukrainian Herald is the dissident Ukrainian journal being circulated clandestinely throughout the Soviet Union. It offers an invaluable record of the implementation of systematic russification and ethnocide, the treatment of dissidents at the hands of the KGB, arrests, illegal searches and closed trials, the fate of political prisoners in jails, labor camps and special psychiatric hospitals. The HERALD assembles the works of uncensored self-published Soviet Ukrainian literature known as samvydav (SAMIZDAT). It is the Ukrainian counterpart of the Russian CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS.

All but ISSUE FIVE of the HERALD have reached the west and have been published in the Ukrainian original in five separate volumes by SMOLOSKYP. Issue Six is the third to be available in the English translation.

DISSENT IN THE UKRAINE is translated from the UKRAINIAN, edited and annotated by Lesya Jones and Bohdan Yasen, with an introduction by Y. Bilinsky, author of the SECOND SOVIET REPUBLIC. The book contains over 240 pages and costs \$6.95 bound in cloth and paperback at \$3.95.

AVAILABLE IN CANADA FROM CATARACT PRESS

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Ontario M5W 1G6

'YOU ARE LISTENING TO RADIO FREE QUEBEC!'

## CLANDESTINE BROADCASTING

World War II, when clandestine radio first appeared, was an inspiring source of national news to millions of Europeans. The struggle in Europe between pro-Soviet and pro-Western forces after the war led to further appearances of clandestine broadcasting. Now with additional tensions in Asia, Africa and the Middle East, there are about fifty regularly heard clandestine and revolutionary radio operations on the air, plus a similar number operating sporadically.

In Eastern Europe the Soviets encourage the use of 'black propaganda' (pretending to represent one side while actually representing the other) in order to help discredit nationalist movements. In 1968, there were fake versions of 'Radio Prague' during the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia, and fake versions of 'Radio Belgrade' are reportedly ready to go on the air should similar action be needed in Yugoslavia.

Foreign broadcasts have long been beamed into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (often soliciting strong protests from top ranking Soviet officials alleging the anti-soviet content of broadcasts, for example from Radio Free Europe and Voice of America).

This has left Soviet authorities with the difficult task of neutralising their effect. A network of more than 3,000 transmitters jamming foreign broadcasts is known to exist in the Soviet Union alone. Aside from formal foreign broadcasts there is evidence which shows the existence of clandestine radio operations beamed at socialist Europe of a domestic, underground variety. Rarely, however, do these stations represent any organised political movement. The main exception, 'Radio Free Russia', operating from West Germany was taken off the air in February, 1974, apparently a casualty of West Germany's growing detente with the East.

An anti-communist Ukrainian emigre group had claimed a few years ago that it was to inaugurate nationalist programming to Ukraine from clandestine transmitters in China and Albania but this scheme never came to pass. However, according to one report, it was considered adequately threatening for the Kremlin to register a protest with official Chinese representatives.

There has also been a recent upsurge in the number of domestic pirate radio stations. These are typically politically satirical, obscene, sexually graphic or purvey forbidden western rock music. One reliable source indicates that in a single night in Moscow, fourteen different pirates were logged in a three hour period. Others have appeared in Siberia and the Armenian SSR and virtually every major city in the USSR has a number of 'radio hooligans'. From time to time the authorities stage all out raids, confiscating illegal transmitters and

punishing the operators for 'causing dangerous interference with radio utility traffic'. In reality the interference is not dangerous, but this allows the government to skirt the more controversial issue of free speech. The low powers of these broadcasts accounts for their not being heard outside the USSR.

Radio Free Russia (Radiostantsia Svobodnaya Rossiya), the West German station began operations in 1950, was controlled by the anti-communist Popular Labour Union. Until February 1974, when its two Bavarian based transmitters were shut down by West German authorities, the station beamed its programmes seven hours daily in Russian, Estonian and various Baltic languages. Now it is aired for only half an hour daily via the official South Korean Radio. Western news reports from the USSR suggest that the station won't be missed. The reputation of the PLU is so tainted by its rightist philosophy and background of Nazi collaboration that the dissident Soviet intellectuals have universally repudiated it.

Clandestine stations tend to appear, disappear and reappear with the shifting sands of political fortune and in themselves are indicators of political tensions.

North America continues to be devoid of any serious clandestine radio activity. However, some examples of pirate activity in the US have been a religious 'floating' station appearing in 1973, a feeble anti-Castro operation, an anti-Nixon station in 1974 and a mid sixties operation called 'Radio Free Harlem'. It is not inconceivable in the near future that we might tune in to something a little closer to home. 'You are listening to RADIO FREE QUEBEC?'

by V.K.

Source: World Radio TV Handbook 1976  
Ed. J.M. Frost. Billboard Publication.

## ЗДОРОВИЙ і СМАЧНИЙ ХЛІБ

та всякі інші печива  
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Ми вважаємо, що Канада є одне з найкращих місць для життя і праці.

Вона не досконала, але часи ціняються, як і оподівання та потреби людей.

Є багато областей, де ми можемо внести покращення, якщо працюватимемо разом . . . у здоров'ї та безпеці на роботі . . . у якості трудового життя . . . у колективному торгуванні... в робітничій участі . . . у протегуванні проти несправедливості на роботі.

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